MAHĀDIBBAMANTA: A *PARITTA* MANUSCRIPT FROM CAMBODIA

By PADMANABH S. JAINI

Introduction

In 1961, while on a visit to Cambodia, I first came to know of this work from the chief Abbot of Vat Unālom of Phnom Penh. I was informed by the learned Abbot of the existence of a 'Mahāyānist' work known as *Dibbamanta*. The work was not available there but subsequently a palm-leaf MS of this work was found in the National Museum of Bangkok, a microfilm copy of which was made available to me through the courtesy of the curator of that Museum. The MS consists of 48 folios,[1] written in Cambodian characters. It is not dated and does not carry any information regarding the author or the scribe. As it was a common practice in Siam to copy Buddhist texts in Cambodian script, and as the work is not in use at the present day either in Siam or in Cambodia, it is hard to locate the original place of this MS. But on the basis of certain internal evidence which will be noted below I am inclined to believe that it could be of Cambodian origin.

The name of the work, *Dibbamanta*, as it was known to my informant, occurs in the text only once: *yo 'dha saṃgāmaṃ gacchanto bhāsento dibbamantrakaṃ* (91). But in view of the hybrid form of this title I retain the title *Mahādibbamanta* as given in the colophon.

The language is corrupt and contains several unusual spellings (e.g. Dhaḍḍharaṭṭhaka, Virrupakkha, Virruḷhaka, Pajuṇṇa), a few Sanskrit words (e.g. *mantra*, *snāna*) and a large number of hybrid forms improvised for the Sanskrit names of *grahas*, *māsas*, *rāśis*, and *nakṣatras* unknown to ancient Pali literature.

The text consists of one prose passage and 108 verses all in anuṣṭubh except one in upajāti. The verses are not numbered but they total 108 (together with the prose passage), and this number could not be merely accidental. It is a magic number and is associated with the 108 marks on the feet of the Buddha (cf. *aṭṭhuttarasataṃ yassa maṅgalaṃ caraṇadvaye*, v. 10). The work can be divided into several small sections: (*a*) vv. 1–4, salutations to the three *maṅgalas*; (*b*) 5–9, *jaya-gāthās* proclaiming victory to the three *maṅgalas*; (*c*) 10–13, glorification of the 108 auspicious marks on the feet of the Buddha; (*d*) 14–17, glorification of the ten *pāramīs* and the victory of the Buddha under the *bodhi*-tree; (*e*) 18–20, description of a *maṇḍala* consisting of the Buddha and the eight chief disciples; (*f*) 21–6, another *maṇḍala* consisting of ten Buddhas; (*g*) 27–33, *Canda-paritta*; (*h*) 34–7, *Suriya-paritta*; (*i*) 38–9, *mantra* consisting of the formula *hulu hulu hulu svāhā*; (*j*) 40–52, enumeration of the

[1] The 108 verses in this MS are written in rather an unusual manner. Instead of writing several verses on the same line our scribe has written each verse on a separate line. This could indicate a fairly late date for our MS.

nine *grahas* (planets), the twelve Indian *māsas* (months), the twelve animals indicating the Chinese twelve-year cycle (here called *nakṣatras*), the 27 constellations (*nakṣatras*) and twelve signs of the zodiac (*rāśis*) followed by a prayer for protection ; (*k*) 53–5, invocation to eight *devīs* occupying the eight points of the universe ; (*l*) 56–62, prayer for the rain of wealth as in the cases of Jotika, Meṇḍaka, Dhanañjaya, Uggata, Jaṭila, Cittaka, and Mandhātu, famous for their wealth and merit ; (*m*) 63–77, enumeration of miscellaneous items ; (*n*) 78–89, *siddhi-gāthās*, invocation to a large number of deities including Hara, Harihara, and Rāma ; (*o*) 90–8, description of the efficacy of the *Dibbamanta* resulting from its recitation, particularly while marching into battle or in counteracting the magical devices of the enemy ; (*p*) 99–108, concluding valedictory verses.

It is evident that the *Mahādibbamanta* has all the ingredients of a short *paritta* work. The two *parittas* included here (the *Canda* and *Suriya-paritta*) form part of the canon (*Saṃyuttanikāya*, I, 50–1) and are found in the list of *paritta-suttas* (nos. 14 and 15) given in the *Catu-bhāṇavāra*, a standard collection of *paritta-suttas*. In addition to these, however, there are six verses (see below) which are also found in a book of non-canonical *paritta* hymns popular even to this day in Ceylon and Burma. The belief of my informant therefore that the work is ' Mahāyānist ' is certainly ill-founded. Nevertheless, there are certain unusual features in this work which are not normally shared even by the popular *paritta* texts, and which could render our text unacceptable to an orthodox Theravādin. First and foremost is the glorification of Hara and Hari appearing immediately after the trio of the Buddha, the arhats, and the *paccekasambuddhas*, and taking precedence over the four *mahārājas* of the Buddhist mythology. At a subsequent place (v. 80) Hara and Harihara head the list of major deities and Rāma takes precedence over various kinds of minor *devas*. The glorification of these purely Brahmanical deities in any Pali text is hitherto unknown and reminds us of Tāntric Buddhist texts of Balinese origin where Īśvara and Buddha are found placed side by side. We may also note a significant statement (*buddharūpañ ca sabbesaṃ, buddharūpañ ca devatā*, v. 84) indicating the identity of the major and minor deities with the *rūpa* (image or person?) of the Buddha, a major departure from the traditional Theravāda Buddhism.

The reference to the four Brahmanical deities, particularly to Harihara, could point to a Cambodian origin of our text. It is well known that the cult of Harihara [2] flourished there during the Khmer period and was gradually replaced by Buddhism, first by Mahāyāna and finally by Theravāda under the influence of the Thais of Siam. Our text might possibly not go as far back as the Khmer period. But certain of its older portions, particularly those containing a reference to these deities, could have been composed only at a time when their

[2] On Harihara, see B. P. Groslier, *Indochina* (Art of the World, IX), 76–7. Two images are reproduced here, both from Cambodia, one dating between A.D. 657 and 681, the other belonging to the first half of the twelfth century. See also G. de Coral Rémusat, *L'art khmer*, pl. XXX, 104.

names sounded as familiar to the Buddhists of Cambodia as for instance the names of the four *mahārājas* or of Indra, but without any specific Brahmanical associations.

A reference in our text to a *devī* called Dharaṇi (the Earth goddess) is also significant. As a Buddhist goddess, she enjoys great popularity in Cambodia and Siam, but not, it seems, in India or Ceylon. She is known in Cambodia as Phra Thorni. Her image, a standing figure wringing her long hair, the floods pouring from which drown the hosts of Māra, is carved on the pedestals supporting the statues of the Buddha (in *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*) and is also found, in modern times, in the courtyards of temples and in public parks. The legend of Dharaṇi, as pointed out by Cœdès,[3] is unknown to the canonical texts and is peculiar to Cambodia and Siam. The earliest image of Dharaṇi is found on a stele at Angkor Vat.[4] It is likely, in view of this iconographical evidence, that the legend of Dharaṇi is of Khmer origin. The reference to her in our text, the only Pali work known to refer to her,[5] together with references to Harihara and such other Khmer deities, could also point to a Cambodian origin of the *Mahādibbamanta*.

The enumeration of twelve animals indicating the Chinese twelve-year cycle with the Indian designation *nakṣatra* could also point to a similar conclusion. The earliest evidence of such a practice is found in a Khmer inscription of Sūryavarman I (A.D. 1039).[6] The Siamese appear to have adopted this practice from the Khmers. The earliest evidence of it from Siam is in a Khmer inscription dated A.D. 1183,[7] followed by the famous inscription of Ram Khamhaeng (A.D. 1292).[8] The practice of using the Chinese year-cycle was prevalent among the Buddhists of northern Siam (Haripuñjaya) as can be seen from the *Jinakālamālī*, a Pali chronicle of A.D. 1516. There is, however, one significant departure here from the old practice. The author of the *Jinakālamālī* has abandoned the use of the designation *nakṣatra* [9] for the twelve years of the

[3] View quoted by C. H. Marchal in J. Hackin and others, *Asiatic mythology*, 206.

[4] ibid. For a modern Cambodian image of this goddess, see H. Marchal, *Le décor et la sculpture khmers*, 1951 (illustration no. 251).

[5] The word *dharaṇi* is found e.g. in *Buddhavaṃsa* (i.68) but is not used there as a name of a *devī*: *cavitvā Tusitā kāyā yadā okkami kucchiyaṃ dasahassī lokadhātu kampittha dharaṇī tadā*.

[6] *Śaka pañcamī ket caitra bṛhaspatibāra khāl* (tiger) *nakṣatra*. See L. Finot, 'Les inscriptions de Sek Ta Tuy', *BEFEO*, XXVIII, 1928, 50.

[7] *1105 Śaka thoḥ* (hare) *nakṣatra*. See G. Cœdès, 'Le royaume de Śrīvijaya', *BEFEO*, XVIII, 6, 1918, 34.

[8] G. Cœdès, *BEFEO*, II, 1902, 60.

[9] On the use of the term *nakṣatra* in the inscriptions mentioned above, see G. Cœdès, 'L'origine du cycle des douze animaux au Cambodge', *T'oung Pao*, XXXI, 1935, 323, where (p. 315) he lists several articles on the Chinese animal-cycle. The animal-cycle is not exclusively used for years and the term *nakṣatra* is already applied to them in Central Asia by the third century A.D. in Niya documents (*Kharoṣṭhī inscriptions*, ed. Boyer, Rapson, Senart, and Noble, no. 565); Burrow (translation, p. 111) refers also to H. Lüders, 'Zur Geschichte des Ostasiatischen Tierkreises', *Sb.PAW*, Phil.-hist. Kl., 1933, 998 ff. See also H. W. Bailey, 'Hvatanica', *BSOS*, VIII, 4, 1937, 924–8, where different lists of twelve names of the animal-cycle as found in Khotan Saka, Sogdian, Krorayina Prakrit, Sanskrit, and Kuchean are given. See also his *Khotanese texts*, IV, 11. [*continued*

Chinese cycle and instead calls them by what must have appeared to him to be the correct designations *vassa*, *vassika*, *saṃvacchara*, and also by the newly adopted *sakarāj* of Burmese origin.[10]

Strangely enough none of these four latter terms are known to our text. It is very tempting therefore to assume that the *Mahādibbamanta* was composed at a time when the practice of using the designation *nakṣatra* for the twelve years of the Chinese cycle was still in vogue [11] in the learned Buddhist circles of Cambodia and Siam, i.e. prior to the composition of *Jinakālamālī*, A.D. 1516. Such a date would seem to be in accordance with the other points discussed above, particularly the fact that Harihara is mentioned in our text.

There is, however, a practical difficulty against assuming a date of such antiquity for our text. As pointed out above, it contains six verses (nos. 17, 21–3, 107–8) found also in a book of non-canonical *paritta* hymns popular in Ceylon and Burma. Of these, no. 17 (*jayanto bodhiyā mūle* . . .) is identical with the second verse of a hymn called *Mahājayamaṅgalagāthā* (consisting of 16 verses and a prose passage). Nos. 21–3 correspond to vv. 2b–5a of *Cūla-jinapañjara* (consisting of 14 verses). Nos. 107–8 are identical with two verses appearing at the end of a long prose passage called *Jaya-pirit*. All these works, *Jaya-pirit*, *Mahājayamaṅgalagāthā*, and *Cūla-jinapañjara* in that order although not consecutively, appear in an appendix (*Upagranthaya*) of a work called *Pali-Siṃhala-pirit-pota*.[12] Nothing is known about the date or authorship of these non-canonical *parittas* (or *pirits* as they are called) nor are they listed in the *Dictionary of Pali proper names*. The histories of Pali literature in Ceylon seem to ignore them. Judging by the style and contents of these works they appear to be fairly old and could go back to a period when Buddhist monks are first known to have composed similar incantations in Ceylon. Since *Maha-kuveniasna*, a Sinhalese text of magical incantations attributed to a Mahāthera, calls for blessings for King Parākramabāhu VI of Koṭṭe (A.D. 1410–68) it is not

W. Simon in his *Chinese-English dictionary* (introduction, liii) gives corresponding zodiacal signs for the animal-cycle. According to Needham (*Science and civilisation in China*, III, 1959, 258) the Jesuits erroneously equated these two systems during the seventeenth century. For a bibliography on this subject, see *T'oung Pao*, Index général, 71.

[10] e.g. *icc evaṃ . . . parinibbāṇato . . . sata-Sakarāje Mūsikasaññite saṃvacchare . . . ayaṃ gantho . . . paripuṇṇo ti* (*Jinakālamālī* (PTS), p. 129).

[11] Professor Cœdès in his article (*T'oung Pao*, XXXI, 1935) states that the term *nakṣatra* is still in use (in Cambodia and Siam) for the twelve-year animal-cycle, but does not refer to the practice adopted in the *Jinakālamālī*.

[12] ed. by K. D. Śri Prajñāsāra, Colombo, 1956. This work is based upon a Pali commentary called *Sāratthasamuccaya* (Simon Hevavitarne Bequest, XXVII) on an old *paritta* collection entitled *Catu-bhāṇavāra*. The latter contains 20 suttas used as *paritta* (as against the list of six *parittas* enumerated in the *Milindapañho*, 150–4). But the *Sāratthasamuccaya*, written according to a Ceylonese tradition during the time of Parākramabāhu II, includes seven additional suttas treated separately in an appendix (called *Parisiṭṭhasaṅgaho*). The works included in the appendix (*Upagranthaya*) of the *Pali-Siṃhala-pirit-pota* could be assumed to belong to a period later than the *Sāratthasamuccaya*. Popular *paritta* hymns similar to the one in Ceylon are also found in such works as the *Chauk saung dwè*, Rangoon, 1895. See Bode, *The Pali literature of Burma*, 95.

impossible that other magical incantations in the guise of *pirits* should have been composed as early as the fifteenth century.[13]

The *pirits* referred to above, particularly the *Jaya-pirit*, appear from their language and style to be works of Ceylonese origin. During the fifteenth century a large number of bhikkhus from Ceylon came over to Siam and there was a constant exchange of monks with these as well as with monks from the neighbours of Siam.[14] It is possible that the *pirits* may have been introduced into Cambodia and Siam through these monks. Portions of these popular hymns might have then been included in our text, possibly at the time of its composition but more probably at a later date since as they stand at least three of the six verses discussed above appear to be later additions. The first of these verses (*jayanto bodhiyā mūle . . .*) follows three other verses, nos. 14, 15, and 16 which also appear to be added to our text, and whose origin I have been unable to trace. Verse 14 is in upajāti, the only verse in this text in this metre. This and the following two verses (15–16) seem to belong to some work describing the defeat of Māra. Verses 107 and 108, appearing at the end of the whole work, could easily be treated as an addition since they are preceded by valedictory verses followed by benedictory verses which would normally be expected to mark the end of the work by themselves.

Mahādibbamanta

namo tassa bhagavato arahato sammāsambuddhassa.
buddhaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi. dhammaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi.
saṃghaṃ saraṇaṃ gacchāmi. dutiyam pi. tatiyam pi. 1

buddho maṅgalasambhūto sambuddho dipaduttamo
buddhamaṅgalam āgamma sabbadukkhā pamuñcatu. 2

dhammo maṅgalasambhūto gambhīro duddaso anuṃ (1)
dhammamaṅgalam āgamma sabbabhayā pamuñcatu. 3

saṃgho maṅgalasambhūto dakkhineyyo anuttaro
saṃghamaṅgalam āgamma sabbarogā pamuñcatu. 4

jaya jaya pathavī sabbaṃ (2) *jaya satthā arahantaṃ*
jaya paccekasambuddhaṃ jaya isi mahosuraṃ.(3) 5

(4) *jaya Haro Harīdevaṃ* (5) *jaya brahmā Dhaḍḍharaṭṭhakaṃ* (6)
jaya nāgo Virulhako (7) *Virrupakkho* (8) *Candimā Ravī.* 6

Indo ca Venatteyyo (9) *ca Kuvero Varuṇo pi ca*
Aggī Vāyu Pajuṇṇo ca kumāro catupālakā.(10) 7

aṭṭhārasa mahādevā (11) *siddhi-tāpasa-ādayo* (12)
asīti sāvakā (13) *sabbe jaya Rāmo bhavantu te.* 8

[13] C. E. Godakumbura, *Sinhalese literature*, 291.

[14] The earliest Pali inscription found in Cambodia is dated A.D. 1230 (see Cœdès, *BEFEO*, XXXVI, 1936, 14; and Majumdar, *Inscriptions of Kambuja*, no. 188) and the recorded date of the introduction of the sect of Sīhala bhikkhus to Nibbisipura is given as A.D. 1431 (1974 years after the *parinibbāna*). See G. Cœdès, 'Documents sur l'histoire politique et religieuse du Laos occidental', *BEFEO*, XXV, 1925, 131.

jaya dhammo ca saṃgho ca dasapālo [14] *ca jayakaṃ*
etena jayasaccena sabbasotthi bhavantu te. 9

aṭṭhuttarasataṃ [15] *yassa maṅgalaṃ caraṇadvaye*
cakkhalakkhaṇasampanne name taṃ lokanāyakaṃ. 10
ime maṅgalasambhūte sabbasattahitesino
etena maṅgalatejena sabbasotthi bhavantu te. 11
etena maṅgalatejena taṃ taṃ rakkhantu sabbadā
etena maṅgalatejena taṃ taṃ pālayantu sabbadā 12
etena maṅgalatejena sabbasiddhi bhavantu te
sabasattū vidhaṃsetu sabbasotthi bhavantu te. 13

[16] *āyantu bhonto idha dānasīlā nekkhammapaññā saha viriyakhantī*
sammā [17] *adhiṭṭhānasamett'upekkhā yuddhāya vo gaṇhatha āvuddhāni.* 14
pāramiyo vijitvāna bodhisattassa cintakam
kesarāri(?) [18] *va āgañchuṃ bodhisatta tam abravuṃ:* 15
mayaṃ paramitā yodhā ciraṃ deva tayā bhattā [19]
ajja dassāma te cīraṃ [20] *jaya bhaddaṃ namatthu te.* 16
jayanto bodhiyā mūle Sakyānaṃ nandivaḍḍhano
evaṃ tvaṃ vijayo hotu [21] *jayassu jaya maṅgalaṃ.* 17

[22] *Buddho ca majjhimo seṭṭho Sāriputto ca dakkhiṇe*
pacchime pi ca Ānando uttare Moggalānako, 18
Koṇḍañño purbbi bhāge ca bāyabbe ca Gavampati
Upāli neharatī ṭhāne āgaṇeyye ca Kassapo
Rāhulo c'eva īsāne sabbe te buddhamaṅgalā. 19
yo ñatvā pujito loke nidukkho nirupaddavo
mahātejo sadā hotu jayasotthi bhavantu te. 20

[23] *Padumuttaro ca pubbāyaṃ* [24] *āgaṇeyye ca* [25] *Revato*
dakkhiṇe Kassapo buddho neharatīye [26] *Sumaṅgalo,* 21
pacchime Buddhasikkhī [27] *ca bāyabbe* [28] *ca Medhaṅkaro*
uttare Sākyamunī [29] *c'eva īsāne Saraṇaṃkaro,*[30] 22
pathavīyaṃ [31] *Kakusandho ākāse ca Dīpaṅkaro* [32]
[33] *ete dasadisā buddhā rājadhammassa* [34] *pūjitā.* 23
natthi rogabhayaṃ sokaṃ khemaṃ sampattidāyakaṃ
dukkharogabhayaṃ natthi sabbasatrū vidhaṃsatu. 24
tesañ ñāṇena sīlena saṃyamena damena ca
te pi taṃ anurakkhantu ārogyena sukhena ca, 25
anāgatassa buddhassa Metteyyassa yasassino
mahādevo mahātejo sabbasotthi bhavantu te. 26

[35] *namo te buddhavīra 'tthu vippamutto 'si sabbadhi*
sambādhapatipanno 'smi tassa me saraṇaṃ bhavā.[36] 27
tathāgataṃ arahantaṃ Candimā saraṇaṃ gato
Rāhu Candaṃ ca muñcassu [37] *buddhā lokānukampakā.* 28
kin nu santaramāno va Rāhu Candaṃ pamuñcasi 29
[38] *dukkharogabhayaṃ nāsti sabbasatrū vidhaṃsetu* 30

tesaṃ ñāṇena . . . pe . . . bhavantu te (as in verses 24b–26). 31–2
samviggarūpo āgamma kin nu bhīto va tiṭṭhasi [39]
sattadhā me phale muddhā jīvanto na sukhaṃ labhe
buddhagāthābhigito 'mhi no ce muñceyya Candiman ti. 33

[40] *namo te buddhavira 'tthu vippamutto 'si sabbadhi*
sambādhapatipanno 'smi tassa me saraṇaṃ bhavā.[41] 34
tathāgataṃ arahantaṃ Suriyo saraṇaṃ gato
Rāhu Suriyaṃ pamuñcassu buddhā lokānukampakā. 35
yo andhakāre tamasī pabhaṃkaro
verocano maṇḍali [42] *uggatejo*
mā Rahu gili [43] *caraṃ antalikkhe*
pajaṃ mama Rāhu muñca Suriyan ti. 36
kin nu santaramāno va Rāhu Suriyaṃ pamuñcasi [44]
sattadhā me phale muddhā jīvanto na sukhaṃ labhe
buddhagāthābhigīto 'mhi no ce muñceyya Suriyan ti. 37

namo buddhassa namo dhammassa namo saṃghassa seyyathīdam: hulu hulu hulu svāhaya heṭṭhimā ca uparimā ca caviṭṭhārakā [45] *ca tiriyañcā apparimānikā* [46]*sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā sabbe bhūtā sabbe puggalā sabbe attabhāvapariyapannā sabbā itthiyo sabbe purisā sabbe ariyā sabbe anariyā sabbe devā sabbe manussā sabbe vinipātikā averā hontu abyāpajjhā hontu anīghā hontu dīghayukā hontu averā hontu sampatti samijjhatu sukhī attānaṃ viharantu sabbe taṃ rakkhantu 'paddavā.* 38
jalaṭṭhā va thalaṭṭhā vā ākāse h'antalikkhakā
pabbatā ca samuddā ca rukkhatiṇṇalatāsino
te pi taṃ anurakkhantu ārogyena sukhena ca. 39

[47] *Āditya-Candra-Aṅgāra-Buddha-Brahāsyapatī tathā*
Sukra-Sora-Rāhu-Ketu navagrahā [48] *ca sabbaso.* 40
tesaṃ balena tejena ānubhāvena tena ca
te pi taṃ anurakkhantu ārogyena sukhena ca. 41

[49] *Caitra-Baisākkha-Jeṣṭe ca Āsāde Srāvane tathā*
Bhadrapade ca Āsujje Kṛttike Mṛggasīsake
Phusse Māghe ca Phaguṇe lokam pālenti dhammatā. 42
ete dvādasadhā māsā ānubhāve mahabbhute
te pi taṃ anurakkhantu ārogyena sukhena ca. 43

[50] *Musiko Bṛsabho Byaggho Sassa-Nāgo ca Sappako*
Asso Meṇḍo Kapi c'eva Kukkuro Svāna-Sūkaro. 44
ete dvādasa nakkhattā lokaṃ pālenti dhammatā
te pi taṃ anurakkhantu ārogyena sukhena ca. 45

[51] *Assujjo Bharaṇī c'eva Kṛttikā Rohiṇī pi ca*
Mṛggasirañ ca Adrañ ca Puraṇabbasu Pussā pi ca, 46
Asilesā pi Māghā ca Purabbaphalaguṇī tathā
Uttaraphalaguṇī c'eva Hasta-Cittañ ca Svāti ca, 47

Visākhā 'nuradhā Jeṣṭhā Mūla 'sālha duve siyuṃ
Srāvano ca Dhaniṭṭho ca Satabhisā Purubuttarā, 48
Bhadrapade Revaty api kammato pi sattādhikā
visā c'evā pi nakkhattā pabbāyanti dine dine, 49
te pi taṃ anurakkhantu ānubhāvena tena ca
te pi taṃ anurakkhantu ārogyena sukhena ca. 50

(52) *Mesa-Bṛsabbha-Methunā Karkāṭaka-Siṃha-Kanyakā*
Tulyā Bṛcchā Dhanū c'eva Maṃkarā Kumbha-Mīnyakā, 51
ete dvādasadhā rāsī ānubhāvena tena ca
te pi taṃ anurakkhantu ārogyena sukhena ca. 52

(53) *Sāvetrīdevī Ruddhāni Dharaṇī Gaṃgā ca deviyā*
Iraggā Naladevīyā Bhiratti(?) *mṛcchu Mārikā,* 53
aṭṭhadevī bhūmipatī aṭṭhadisesu rakkhitā (54)
tāsaṃ pūjānubhāvena sabbadosaṃ khamantu te. 54
tāsaṃ balena tejena ānubhāvena tena ca
te pi taṃ anurakkhantu ārogyena sukhena ca. 55

mā khayo mā vayo tuyhaṃ mā ca koci upaddavo
ratanāni pavassantu Jotikassa (55) *yathā ghare.* 56
mā khayo mā vayo tuyhaṃ mā ca koci upaddavo
kañcanāni pavassantu Meṇḍakassa (56) *yathā ghare.* 57
mā khayo . . .
dhaññadhanā pavassantu Dhanañjayassa (57) *yathā ghare.* 58
mā khayo . . .
dhanadhārā pavassantu Uggatassa (58) *yathā ghare.* 59
mā khayo . . .
kañcanajālasaṃkāmeso(?) *Jaṭilassa* (59) *yathā ghare.* 60
mā khayo . . .
sabbadhanāni pavassantu Cittakassa (60) *yathā ghare.* 61
mā khayo . . .
kahāpaṇāni pavassantu Mandhātusseva (61) *rājino.*(62) 62

Akkharasāriṇī nāma isī (63) *Himmavante vasī tadā*
siddhi-vijjādharā sabbe devānaṃ pujitā sadā. 63
buddhā paccekabuddhā ca arahantā Indadevatā
Brahmā isī munī c'eva puriso ca mahantako.(64) 64
siddhi-vijjādharā (65) *sabbe dvādasā* (66) *rakkhitā sadā*
ye suddhacittā samādānā manussā (67) *pujitā sadā.* 65
buddhasāvaṃ (68) *guṇaṃ vijjaṃ balaṃ tejañ ca vīriyaṃ*
siddhi kammaṃ dhammaṃ saccaṃ nibbānaṃ mokkham tuyhakaṃ. 66
dānaṃ sīlaṃ ca paññā ca nikkhaṃ puññaṃ bhāgyaṃ tapaṃ
yasaṃ sukhaṃ sirī rūpaṃ catuvīsati desanā.(69) 67
evaṃ soḷasadhā dhammā (70) *buddhā devā saranti ca*
paccekā arahantā ca Indā devā sabrahmakā. 68

isī munī ca rājāno puriso [71] ca vijjādharā
sabbalokādhipatī devā soḷasā [72] bhavakammunā. 69

ahi sarisappā c'eva asso meṇḍo ca kukkuro
go mahiṃsā tathā hatthī tiracchā khāṇu-kaṇṭakā, 70
kūpo papāto aggo [73] ca ubhaggo [74] bhaggo [75] pi ca
ubhaggo visarājā [76] ca poriko [77] aggipotako, 71
suṃsumāro ca nāgo ca gṛddho surakinnaro
mahāratto [78] devadevo Kuvero manuso pi ca, 72
amanussā ca yakkhā ca mahāyakkho ca rakkhaso
mahānāgo pisāco va peto kumbhaṇḍako pi ca, 73
siddhi-vijjādharā sabbe sehmaṃ pittaṃ ca vāyukaṃ
upakkā sannipātañ ca sabbe paññāsapiḷitā.[79] 74
sabbe sattā ca yakkhā ca mettacittā sadā bhave
ekapaññāsa sabbe te sabbe rakkhantu taṃ sadā. 75
ahaṃ [80] lābhī ca lābhānaṃ sakkāro [81] pūjito sadā
sabbe devā manussā ca piyā rakkhantu taṃ sadā. 76
gāmaṃ desañ ca nagaraṃ nadī bhūmi ca pabbataṃ
vannaṃ [82] samuddaṃ addhānaṃ sabbe rakkhantu taṃ sadā. 77

siddhi buddhā siddhi dhammā siddhi saṃghā ca uttamā
siddhi paccekasambuddhā siddhi sabbaññusāvakā. 78
siddhi ariyañ ca ariyānaṃ siddhi ca pātihāriyaṃ
siddhi mārabalaṃ yodhaṃ [83] siddhi nibbānam uttamaṃ. 79
[84] siddhi Haro Hariharo siddhi Brahmā ca Dhaḍḍharaṭṭhako
siddhi nāgo Virūḍḍhako Virupakkho Candimā Ravī, 80
siddhi Indo ca Venatteyyo ca Kuvero Varuṇo pi ca
siddhi Aggī ca Vāyū ca Pajuṇṇo ca kumārako,
siddhi aṭṭhārasā devā catupālañ ca devatā. 81
siddhi Rāmo [85] siddhi devā siddhi yakkho ca rakkhaso
siddhi vijjādharā sabbe siddhi isī mahesurā 82
siddhi pabbatadevānaṃ siddhi kāraṇadevatā [86]
siddhi pāsādadevānaṃ siddhi cetiyadevatā 83
siddhi bodhirukkhadevānaṃ siddhi ārakkhadhātuyo
buddharūpañ ca sabbesaṃ buddharūpañ ca devatā 84
siddhi tiṇṇā [87] ca rukkhānaṃ vali [88] yā gharadevatā
siddhi thalā jalaṭṭhā vā siddhi ākāsadevatā 85
siddhi munī ca rājāno siddhi purisalakkhaṇā
siddhi bhummatthadevānaṃ siddhi kammaṃ balaṃ varaṃ. 86
siddhi pādā ca apādā ca dvipādā ca catuppādā ca
bahuppādā ca sattā ca siddhi pakkhā [89] ca vāyukaṃ. 87
etena siddhitejena jayasotthi bhavantu te
etena siddhitejena taṃ taṃ rakkhantu sabbadā. 88
etena siddhitejena taṃ taṃ pālayantu sabbadā
etena siddhitejena sabbasiddhi bhavantu te,
sabbasatrū vidhaṃsetu sabbasotthi bhavantu te. 89

yo 'dha saṃgāmaṃ gacchanto bhāsento dibbamantrakaṃ [90]
jayaṃ balaṃ sukhaṃ lābhaṃ sabbasatrū vidhaṃsetu. 90
puttakāmo labhe puttaṃ dhanakāmo labhe dhanaṃ
adhikāraṃ labheyyayuṃ [91] *devānaṃ piyataṃ sadā.* 91

rājā itthī ca seṭṭhī ca puriso maṇḍito pi ca
sīho byaggho varāhā ca asso meṇḍo ca kukkuro. 92
go mahiṃso tathā hatthī tiracchā khāṇu-kaṇṭakā
sabbasattha-ayo lohaṃ tamma-kaṃsañ ca tīpukaṃ. 93
atthi aññho ca kurute cakrā nakhā ca visakaṃ
kodanaṃ [92] *dhanunā snānaṃ* [93] *sallaṃ aggī ca vāyukaṃ.* 94
khaggaṃ selañ ca matikaṃ [94] *yantrabhāsānusātrakaṃ* [95]
aññho ca kuhakaṃ katvā mantramāyāniyojitaṃ. 95
etena siddhitejena jayasotthi bhavantu te
etena siddhitejena taṃ taṃ rakkhantu sabbadā. 96
etena siddhitejena taṃ taṃ pālayantu sabbadā
etena siddhitejena sabbasiddhi bhavantu te. 97
sabbasatrū vidhaṃsetu sabbasotthi bhavantu te 98

sabbe buddhā arahantā ca paccekānañ ca devatā
koṭisatasahassānaṃ cakkavāḷañ ca devatā,
sabbe te sukham āyantā gacchantu sakaṭṭhānato. 99
giddhanti dibbamantāni yāva kappā ca medinī
sabbe te devā sumanā honti mettacittā samāgatā. 100
sabbe te anumodantu puññaṃ gaṇhantu uddisaṃ
amhe rakkhantu sabbattha antarāyā asesato. 101

siddhi kāyakataṃ kammaṃ siddhi vīraparakkamaṃ
siddhi tejo balaṃ sukhaṃ siddhi lābho nirantaraṃ. 102
siddhi asīti arahantā ca buddhānaṃ catuvīsati [96]
siddhi Cātumahārājikā ca Kāmāvacaradevatā, 103
siddhi soḷasa mahābrahmā [97] *Arupāvacara-catubbidhā.*
etena siddhitejena jayasotthi bhavantu te. 104
etena siddhitejena taṃ taṃ rakkhantu sabbadā
etena siddhitejena taṃ taṃ pālayantu sabbadā. 105
etena siddhitejena sabbasiddhi bhavantu te.
sabbasatrū vidhaṃsetu sabbasotthi bhavantu te.[98] 106

dukkharogabhayā verā sokā santu c'upaddavā [99]
antarāyā anekāni [100] *vinassantu ca tejasā* 107
jayasiddhī [101] *dhanaṃ lābhaṃ sotthī* [102] *bhāgyaṃ sukhaṃ balaṃ*
sirī [103] *āyu ca vaṇṇo ca bhogaṃ buddhī* [104] *ca yasavā*
satavassā ca āyu [105] *ca jīvasiddhī* [106] *bhavantu te.* 108

Mahādibbamantraṃ samattaṃ [107] *niṭṭhītaṃ.*[108] *sabbasavassati siddhikāraya.*[109]

Notes

(1) *anuṃ* stands for *aṇu* ' subtle '. *Aṇu* is frequently spelt *anu* in Pali.

(2) *jaya jaya pathavī sabbaṃ.* This glorification of *pathavī* (Earth) is undoubtedly the most remarkable feature of the *Mahādibbamanta.* Not only is she given precedence over the Buddha (*satthā*) in receiving *jayakāra* (proclamation of glory) but she is also placed almost at the beginning of our text. The practice of glorifying the Mother Earth at the beginning of a text is hardly observed even among the Hindus. The only instance I know occurs in *Pṛthivīstava* (*Oṃ pṛthivīśarīraṃ devī . . .*), a short hymn included in *Sanskrit texts from Bali*, ed. S. Lévi, p. 46. I know of no similar instance in the Buddhist literature of Ceylon or Burma. She is recognized as a *devatā* of the Vedic pantheon, where she occupies a prominent place with Dyauḥ (e.g. *Idáṃ dyāvāpṛithivī satyám astu pítar mātar yád ihópabruvé vāṃ*, RV 1.185.11). In the *Atharvaveda* she is called Mother Earth and the poet of this hymn, Atharvan, calls himself ' a son of Pṛthivī ' (*mātā bhūmiḥ putró aháṃ pṛthivyāḥ . . .*, AV 12.1.12).

In the Pali canon the earth (*pathavī*) does not appear as a goddess (*devatā*) but is described on several occasions as shaking violently at the miraculous events in the life of the Buddha (e.g. *ayañ ca kho dasasahassī lokadhātu saṅkampi . . .*, *Vin.*, I.11). In the *Jātaka aṭṭhakathā* the Mahāpathavī is called upon by the Buddha in the course of his victory over Māra, to bear witness to his past good deeds (*ayaṃ acetanāpi ghanamahāpaṭhavī sakkhī ti . . . mahāpaṭhavī abhimukhaṃ hatthaṃ pasāresi . . . mahāpaṭhavī . . . viravasahassena Mārabalaṃ avattharamānā viya unnadi . . .*, *J*, I.74). This is the origin of the legend of Dharaṇi and of the *bhūmi-sparśa-mudrā*, noted above, popular in Cambodia and Siam. There is also a belief among the Cambodians that in the beginning of creation man came from the dirt of Prah Thorni (see J. Hackin and others, *Asiatic mythology*, 196). Even assuming that the *pathavī* mentioned in this verse is identical with Phra Thorni or Dharaṇi, it appears extremely unlikely that the Buddhists of Cambodia would give her so prominent a place as to relegate the Buddha to a second position in a Buddhist text.

The alternative suggestion, which I owe to Mr. H. L. Shorto, is that we should join the word *jaya* (the second of the two) to *pathavī*. This gives us a compound *jaya-pathavī*, meaning ' land of victory ' a concept well known to the Mons of the sixteenth century. It is connected with a coronation ceremony which included an act called treading the ' soil of victory ' (*ti* ' earth ', *jamnaḥ* ' victory '). The *Sudhammavatīrājavaṃsa* (*Rājādhirāj*) (Pak Lat edition, 1910, 231) in connexion with a story of Prince Asaḥ, refers to a ' soil of victory ' in Pegu marking the space where the Prince killed an Indian giant and where Rājādhirāj is said to have built a pagoda. In the opinion of Mr. Shorto this *jaya-bhūmi* could be located in the east of Pegu and south of the pagoda.

A Burmese work called *Ayu-daw Min-gala shauk-hton* ' Life and wise sayings of Ayu-daw Min-gala ' (a Burmese minister during the reign of Bodawpaya, 1782–1819), by U Aung, also refers to the practice of treading the

'soil of victory'. It is said there (p. 102) that King Bodawpaya made his minister Thado Thiri Maha Uccanā tread the soil of victory (*aung-mye*) on Sunday, the seventh day of the waxing moon of the Tawthalin, and sent him along the Chiengmai route to invade Siam. (I am indebted to Dr. Hla Pe for this reference. See also Harvey, *History of Burma*, 270 ff.)

In view of the close connexion between the Mons and Cambodians through the kingdom of Haripuñjaya (*Jinakālamālī*, p. 88 f.; *Cāmadevīvaṃsa*, in *BEFEO*, XXV, 1925, 152 f.) in the sixteenth century, it is possible to assume that the concept of a *jaya-pathavī* was known to the author of our text. Being a *mantra* recommended for recitation while marching into battle (*yo 'dha saṃgāmaṃ gacchanto bhāsento dibbamantrakaṃ*), it is conceivable that our text was used in the coronation ceremony of treading the 'soil of victory'. This could account for a formal glorification (*jaya jaya-pathavī sabbaṃ*) of *all* 'lands of victory' and for the prominence accorded to *pathavī* in our text.

(3) *mahosuraṃ*. We should perhaps read *mahāsura* (i.e. Rāhu who is called Asurinda, *Aṅguttaranikāya*, II.53). This word, however, occurs again with a different spelling: *mahesurā* (v. 82). The latter appears nearer to the Skt. *maheśvara* meaning Śiva, although here only a general meaning 'great god or lord' seems to be intended. Although *issara* is known, there is no form like *mahissara* in Pali.

(4) Verses 6 and 7 are repeated again (vv. 80–1) with a slight difference. The word *jaya* is there replaced by *siddhi*.

(5) Instead of *Haro Harīdevaṃ*, v. 80 reads *Haro Hariharo*. By *Harīdeva* (in v. 6), therefore, we should perhaps understand Harihara and not Hari. The latter is known to the *Mahāsamayasutta* (*ath' āgu Harayo devā*), *Dīghanikāya*, II.260.

(6) *jaya brahmā Dhaḍḍharaṭṭhakaṃ*. Dhataraṭṭha, one of the four *mahārājas*, king of the east and lord of the Gandhabbas. He is not called *brahmā* in the canon. Our text appears to be erroneously calling him a *brahmā*.

(7) *jaya nāgo Virruḷhako*. Virūḷhaka, called here a *nāga*, is in the canon known as the lord of Kumbhaṇḍas.

(8) *Virrupakkho*. Virupakkha, lord of the *nāgas*.

(9) *Venatteyyo*. Venateyya, name of a Garuḍa, well known in Hindu mythology. This name, however, occurs only in the *Kuṇālajātaka* (*J*, v.428). The inclusion of Venateyya in the list of major Buddhist deities here, is significant. The cult of Garuḍa was very popular in Angkor. His images in a conventionalized form adorn Cambodian art, both ancient and modern. See J. Hackin and others, *Asiatic mythology*, 200.

(10) *catupālakā*. The four *mahārājas*, guardians of the four cardinal points.

(11) *aṭṭhārasa mahādevā*. The number 18 most probably refers to the 18 *rūpāvacara devas* (see *Vibhaṅga*, p. 570–2).

(12) *siddhi-tāpasa-ādayo*. See (65) below on *siddhi-vijjādharā*.

(13) *asīti sāvakā*. The figure 80 appears to be only symbolical. See PTS *Pali-English dictionary*, 89. We find a group of 80 *mahātheras* (*dasabalañ ca*

asīti mahāthere ca vandathā ti) in the *Dhammapada aṭṭhakathā*, p. 14, but no list is provided.

(14) *dasapālo*. Perhaps refers to the ten Buddhas occupying ten points of the universe. See (23) below.

(15) *aṭṭhuttarasataṃ*. The 108 marks on the feet of the Buddha. This also appears to be a symbolical figure based on eight. The *Milindapañho* speaks of the 100 auspicious marks (*satapuññalakkhaṇaṃ*) of the Buddha, but no list is given.

(16) These three verses (14–16) appear to have been borrowed from some text describing the Buddha's victory over Māra. Compare, for instance, *Samantakūṭavaṇṇanā*, vv. 345 f., where the ten *pāramitās* are called warriors (*bhaṭas, yodhas*) fighting with the hosts of Māra.

(17) *sammā*. This word should be read as *sacca* to complete the number of ten *pāramīs*.

(18) *kesarāri*. Reading is doubtful.

(19) *bhattā*. Perhaps stands for *bhataka* ' servant '. See *Milinda.*, p. 379.

(20) *cīraṃ*. Perhaps stands for *vīra*.

(21) *evaṃ tvaṃ vijayo hotu. evaṃ tuyhaṃ jayo hotu* in *Jayamaṅgalagāthā*. See introduction, above.

(22) Verses 18–20. Description of something corresponding to a *maṇḍala* or a magic circle (or even a square) used in sacred rites and well known in the Hindu and Mahāyāna Tāntric works. The Pali scriptures do not contain any such descriptions of the eight chief disciples forming a magic circle. The origin of this practice may be traced to the *Mahāsamayasutta* of the *Dīghanikāya* where the four *mahārājas* are described as occupying and ruling the four cardinal points. (See also *Manusmṛti*, v.96, where the names of eight *lokapālas* are given.) The earliest allusion to the eight monks sitting in a circle in connexion with a *paritta* ceremony is found in the story of Dīghāvukumāra in the *Dhammapada aṭṭhakathā*. The relevant passage is worth quoting: *sace tvaṃ attano gehadvāre maṇḍapaṃ katvā tassa majjhe pīṭhikaṃ katvā taṃ parikkhipanto aṭṭha vā soḷasa vā āsanāni paññāpetvā tesu mama sāvake nisīdāpetvā sattāhaṃ nirantaraṃ parittaṃ kātuṃ sakkuṇeyyāsi, evaṃ assa antarāyo nāseyyā ti* (xii.8).

Maung Htin Aung in his *Folk elements in Burmese Buddhism* (p. 8) states that the Burmese Buddhists cite this passage as an authority for a ceremony entitled the ' Nine Gods '. In this ceremony the Burmese employ a (square) *maṇḍala* occupied by the images of eight chief disciples (the same as in our text with one exception, viz. Kassapa instead of Revata in the south-east) with an image of the Buddha in the centre. The images of eight planets are placed behind the eight *arhats*, Ketu the ninth planet being placed in the centre facing the Buddha. A *maṇḍala* of only the eight planets occupying the eight points is found in *Vedaparikramaḥ*, included in *Sanskrit texts from Bali* (p. 8). It is not possible to determine whether the *maṇḍala* of the *grahas* was a prototype for the ' circle ' of the *arhats* or vice versa, but the latter appears to be fairly old.

There is a similar set mentioned in the *Sudhammavatīrājavaṃsa*, Pak Lat ed., 1910, 76–7. In this set the Buddha occupies the centre with Moggallāna in the north, Sāriputta in the south, Kaccāyana in the north-west, and Mahākassapa in the south-west. The west is unoccupied and, while the text is ambiguous, according to Mr. H. L. Shorto, to whom I owe this reference, the north-east, east, and south-east are probably to be understood as occupied by Anuruddha, Ānanda, and Gavampati respectively.

It may be noted that in our *maṇḍala* the first four points are clockwise (south, west, north, east) and the remaining four (north-west, south-west, south-east, north-east) anticlockwise. The succeeding *maṇḍala*, however, gives all eight points clockwise.

(23) Verses 21–3. Description of another *maṇḍala* consisting of ten Buddhas occupying four cardinal points, four intermediate points, earth, and sky. Ten, like eight, is a magic number in Pali. There may be some connexion between this ' circle ' and the ten *rājadhammas* (*J*, II.367) as indicated by our text (*rājadhammassa pūjitā*) but I have been unable to trace it to any Buddhist text, Pali or Sanskrit. Dr. Hooykaas in his article ' Bauddha brahmins in Bali ' (*BSOAS*, XXVI, 3, 1963, 547) gives a Buddhist *mantra* related to ten points of the universe, the last two called *adhaḥ* and *ūrdhvā*, plus the centre (*madhyā*). The *mantra* does not mention the names of the occupants of these points. As pointed out in the introduction, vv. 21–3 correspond to vv. 2b–5a of *Cūla-jinapañjara*, a short *paritta* hymn of 14 verses included in the appendix to the *Pali-Siṃhala-pirit-pota*.

The names of the ten Buddhas selected here appear in the traditional list of Buddhas given in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. No reason is given for the choice of these ten out of a total number of 27 Buddhas for forming this *maṇḍala*. It is interesting, however, to note that out of these ten, four Buddhas (Buddhasikhi, Kakusandha, Kassapa, and Sākyamuni) appear in the oldest list of seven Buddhas given in the *Mahāpadānasutta* (*Dīghanikāya*, II.5 f.) occupying second, fourth, sixth, and seventh place respectively. Four (Dīpaṃkara, Sumangala, Revata, and Padumuttara) appear in the list of 25 Buddhas (nos. 1, 3, 5, and 10) given in the *Buddhavaṃsa*. Medhaṃkara and Saraṇaṃkara appear in the list of three other Buddhas (nos. 2 and 3) mentioned in the twenty-seventh chapter of the *Buddhavaṃsa*. Whether this is a haphazard choice or whether these ten Buddhas were in any way specially connected with *paritta* ceremonies is not known.

(24) *puratthimāyaṃ* in *Cūla-jinapañjara*.
(25) *aggimhi c'eva*, ibid.
(26) *nerutte ca*, ibid.
(27) *ca Sikhī buddho*, ibid.
(28) *vāyavye*, ibid.
(29) *Piyadassī ca*, ibid.
(30) *Dīpankaro*, ibid.
(31) *pathavyā*, ibid.

(32) *Saraṇaṃkaro*, ibid.

(33) *evaṃ dasa disā c'eva sabbe buddhā patiṭṭhitā*, ibid.

(34) See *J*, II.367.

(35) Verses 27–37 contain verse portions from the *Candimasutta* and *Suriyasutta* of the *Saṃyuttanikāya*, I.50–1. These two suttas are also included in the *Catu-bhāṇavāra*, the traditional book of the *paritta-suttas*. The reason for the choice of these two out of a large number of *paritta* texts appears to be their connexion with the legends of the eclipse of the moon and the sun by Rāhu, the chieftain of the *asuras*. The prominent place accorded in our text to astrological matters could also explain the selection of these two suttas in particular.

(36) *bhavā 'ti*, *Saṃyuttanikāya*, I.50.

(37) *pamuñcassu*, ibid.

(38) Verses 30, 31, and 32 are not required here. They are repetitions of vv. 24b, 25, and 26. Note the changes here : *nāsti* for *natthi*, *vidhaṃsetu* for *vidhaṃsatu*.

(39) *tiṭṭhasī 'ti*, *Saṃyuttanikāya*, I.50.

(40) *Suriyasutta*, ibid., I.51.

(41) *bhavā 'ti*, ibid.

(42) *maṇḍalī*, ibid.

(43) *gilī*, ibid.

(44) See verse 33. Here we should add : *saṃviggarūpo āgamma kin nu bhīto va tiṭṭhasi*.

(45) *caviṭṭhārakā* or *c[h]aviddhārakā* ? The reading is doubtful. *Chavi* ' skin ', *dhāraka* ' bearer ', i.e. a snake ?

(46) cf. *sabbe sattā sabbe pāṇā sabbe bhūtā ca kevalā . . .*, *Khandhaparitta* (*Aṅguttaranikāya*, II.72), a *paritta* used against snakes.

(47) The following list of *grahas*, *māsas*, *nakṣatras*, and *rāśis* is also a special feature of our text. There are several references in the Pali canon to the festivities celebrated in honour of the *nakṣatras*, but we do not know of any instance where they are propitiated or called upon to protect as in our text. Professor V. S. Agrawala in his *India as known to Pāṇini* (p. 358) shows references in Pāṇini's grammar to a large number of time-denoting words like *māsa* and *saṃvatsara* and to several names of asterisms which were raised to the status of deities (*devatā*). The worship of planets is, as noted above, common among Hindus and Buddhists even to this day. Our text, however, appears to indicate the existence of a similar practice extended even to the *māsas* and *nakṣatras* (denoting both the Indian constellations and the years of the Chinese twelve-year cycle).

Although the names of some of these planets, months, constellations, and signs of the zodiac are known to the canon and the *aṭṭhakathās*, a complete list of them is not available in any other Pali text. The *Abhidhānappadīpikā* (*Abhp.*), a twelfth-century work from Ceylon, enumerates the names of the months and the *nakkhattas* but gives the name of only the first *graha* and the

first *rāśi*. The *Jinakālamālī* (*Jkm.*) mentions several of these names in connexion with the dates of historical events treated in that work. We note below those references which show different spellings or alternative names for these items.

(48) *Sūrādī tu navaggahā, Abhp.*, i.61 ; *Sūra Canda Aṅgāra Buddha Jīva Sukka Asita Rāhu Ketu iti ete Sūrādayo navaggahā ti Ṭīkā, Abhp.*, p. 11 (Ahmedabad ed.). *Jkm.* uses the names Guru and Jīva for Jupiter and Soraka, Sorika, Sani, and Sannicara for Saturn.

(49) cf. *Citto Vesākha Jeṭṭho cā 'sāḷho dvīsu ca Sāvaṇo*
Poṭṭhapādā 'ssayujjā ca māsā dvādasa Kattiko,
Māgasiro tathā Phusso kamena Māgha Phaggunā. Abhp., i.75–6a.
The following names are found in the *Jkm.*: Citra, Visākha, Jeṭṭha, Āsāḷha, Sāvaṇa, Bhadra, Assayuja, Kattika, Māgasira, Phussa, Māgha, Phagguṇa.

(50) The Chinese twelve-year cycle is not known to the *Abhp.* The following are mentioned in the *Jkm.*: Mūsika (*vassa-vassika-Sakarāja*), Vyaggha (also called Saddūla—*vassa-saṃvacchara-Sakarāja*), Sasa (*vassa-Sakarāja*), Mahoraga (*vassa-Sakarāja*), Sappa (*vassa-Sakarāja*), Turaṅga (*vassa*), Aja (*vassa*), Makkaṭa (*vassa-Sakarāja*), Kukkuṭa (*vassa-Sakarāja*), Kukkura (*vassa-Sakarāja*). The *Jkm.* does not use the designation *nakkhatta* for these Chinese years. See introduction above.

(51) cf. *Assayujo Bharaṇitthi saKattikā Rohiṇī c'eva*
Maggasira-m-Addā ca Punabbasu Phusso cā 'silesā pi,
Maghā ca Phaggunī dve ca Hattho Cittā ca Sāti pi
Visākhā 'nurādhā Jeṭṭhā Mūlā 'sāḷha duve tathā,
Savano ca Dhaniṭṭhā ca Satabhisajo Puvvottarabhaddapdā
Revaty apī ti kamato sattādhika vīsa nakkhattā. Abhp., i.58–60.
Jkm. mostly follows the *Abhp.*, with the exception of two, viz. Asvini and Māgasira. Our text has Assujja corresponding to the Assayuja of the *Abhp.* *Jkm.* appears to have adopted the more familiar word Asvini (Skt. Aśvinī). For the Skt. Mṛgaśirā we have thus three forms: Mṛggasira (our text), Maggasira (*Abhp.*), and Māgasira (*Jkm.*).

kammato in v. 49 should be understood as *kamato* ; see *Abhp.*, i.60a.

(52) *Rāsi Mesādiko, Abhp.*, i.61. *Jkm.* has the following: Mesa, Usabha, Methuna (also Mithunaka), Kakkaṭaka, Sīha, Kanyā, Tulā, Vicchika, Cāpa, Maṅkara, Kumbha, Mīna.

(53) *Sāvetrī*. Pali Sāvittī and Sāvitthī. Known to the Pali canon only as a name of the Vedic verse *Sāvitrī*, but well known in Hindu mythology. This is also a name of the wife of Brahmā and of the river Sarasvatī.

Ruddhāni. Perhaps stands for Rudrāṇī, wife of Rudra. This is also a name of Durgā. Not known in Pali.

Gaṃgā. Known to Pali only as the name of river Ganges, but not as a *devī*.

Iraggā. Not known either in Pali or in Sanskrit. Irā is also a name of Sarasvatī, the goddess of speech. Irāvatī is a name of Durgā. Perhaps this is also a name of a river, like Gaṃgā, raised to the status of a *devī*. Could it possibly refer to the river Irāwaddy (Irāvatī) in Burma ?

Naladevī. This *devī* is also not known. In the *Harivaṃśapurāṇa* one of Rudrāśva's daughters is called Nalā (see Monier-Williams). This word could also be read as *Analā* (*iraggānaladevīyā*) in which case it could refer to the Fire goddess. But the name Analā is not known in Sanskrit.

Bhiratti. Not known in Pali or Sanskrit. Should we read *Abhiratti* (i.e. *Abhirati*, i.e. Rati, the wife of Kāma) ?

mṛcchu Mārikā. *mṛcchu* (Pali *maccu*, Skt. *mṛtyuḥ* ' death ') qualifies Mārikā. Mārī is a name for smallpox. A deity of that name (identified in popular belief with Kālī) is still worshipped in Indian villages.

As is evident, with the sole exception of Dharaṇi, none of these *devīs* belong to the Buddhist pantheon. Sāvitrī, Rudrāṇī, and Gaṃgā can be traced to the Hindu pantheon. The remaining four could be of purely local origin raised to the status of *devī*.

(54) *aṭṭhadisesu rakkhitā* ' placed in (i.e. occupying) the eight directions '. This could suggest a possibility of a *maṇḍala* of eight *devīs*.

disesu is wrong ; the text should read *disāsu*.

(55) *Jotika*. See *Dhammapada aṭṭhakathā*, iv.199–213.

(56) *Meṇḍaka*. ibid., iii.372 f. ; *Vinayapiṭaka*, i.240 f.

(57) *Dhanañjaya*. *Dhammapada aṭṭhakathā*, i.384 f., iii.363 ; *J*, ii.347.

(58) *Uggata*. Most probably refers to Ugga. See (62) below.

(59) *Jaṭila*. *Dhammapada aṭṭhakathā*, iv.214.

(60) *Cittaka*. Probably refers to Citta *gahapati* whose carts were filled with all kinds of valuables by the *devas*. See *Aṅguttara aṭṭhakathā*, i.210.

(61) *Mandhātā*. *J*, ii.311 f. ; *Divyāvadāna*, p. 210 f.

(62) Of these seven, three, viz. Jotika, Jaṭila, and Mandhātā are said to possess miraculous powers obtained by merit (*puññavato iddhi*). See *Paṭisambhidāmagga*, ii.213. Meṇḍaka and his son Dhanañjaya are counted in the *Visuddhimagga* (xii.42) among the five *mahāpuññas*. Uggata is the only person unknown. He is perhaps to be identified with Ugga who is described as the best of those who gave agreeable gifts (*manāpadāyakānaṃ aggo*, *Aṅguttaranikāya*, i.26). Buddhaghosa quotes a verse where he is listed among the five great persons : *kathaṃ puññamahattato ? Jotiko Jaṭilo Uggo Meṇḍako atha Puṇṇako . . .*, *Visuddhimagga*, viii.8.

(63) *Akkharasāriṇī nāma isī*. Not known in Pali or Sanskrit.

(64) *puriso ca mahantako*. Perhaps stands for *mahāpurisa*.

(65) *siddhi-vijjādharā*. The word *vijjādhara* occurs four times in our text. On three occasions (vv. 63, 65, 74) it is joined in the MS with *siddhi* and in v. 69 it appears alone. Earlier (v. 8) there is a reference to *siddhitāpasa*. We are not sure if we should read these two words together or separately, but have followed the MS. Perhaps in both cases *siddhi* is used as an adjective. Could it be that our text is referring to two kinds of *vijjādharas*, and also two kinds of *tāpasas*, one with and one without the *siddhis* ? Could it refer to a class of beings corresponding to the *siddhas* of the Tāntric texts ?

(66) *dvādasā*. I have not been able to find any list of *vijjādharas* either in

Buddhist or Hindu mythology. It may be noted that none of these words—*siddhi*, *vijjādhara*, and *siddha*—are known to the Pali canon. *Vijjā* meaning ' magic ' or ' charm ' is known to the canon, but *vijjādhara* occurs only in the *Jātaka aṭṭhakathā* (*J*, III.303, 529) and in the *Milindapañho* (pp. 153, 200, 267). On *vijjādharas*, *siddhas*, and *vidyārājas*, see among others: J. Przyluski, ' Les Vidyārāja ', *BEFEO*, XXIII, 1923, 301–18; D. L. Snellgrove, *The Hevajra tantra* (introduction); E. M. Mendelson, ' A messianic Buddhist association in Upper Burma ', *BSOAS*, XXIV, 3, 1961, 580.

(67) *manussā*. This should be read as *manussehi*.

(68) *buddhasāvaṃ*. *sāvaṃ* (Skt. *srāva* ' juice ') makes no sense. We should perhaps read *buddhabhāvaṃ*. *sāvaṃ* could refer to *sāvaka*, but is unlikely as the latter is a masculine word.

(69) *catuvīsati desanā*. The items enumerated in vv. 66–7 give a total of 24 if we include the *desanā* itself. Perhaps this refers to the preaching (*desanā*) of the 24 *paccayas* (*hetu*, etc.) given in the Abhidhamma texts.

(70) *evaṃ soḷasadhā dhammā*. *evaṃ* seems to refer to the items given in vv. 66–7. But the *dhammas* enumerated there are 24 and not 16. There is no known group of 16 *dhammas* in Pali. Assuming that the *catuvīsati desanā* (v. 67) refers to the 24 *paccayas* it is conceivable that the *soḷasa-dhammas* refer to another set, viz. the *paṭiccasamuppāda* (*avijjā*, etc.). The Abhidhamma texts count only 12 *aṅgas* (from *avijjā* to *jarā-maraṇa*) leaving out *soka*, *parideva*, *dukkha*, *domanassa*, and *upāyāsa* as descriptions of *jarā-maraṇa*. If we take *dukkha* and *domanassa* together then these five *aṅgas* could provide the remaining four items, giving us a total of 16 *dhammas*.

(71) *puriso*. Perhaps stands for *mahāpurisa*.

(72) The 16 *devas* are most probably the same as the 16 *brahmās* (*Brahmapārisajja*, etc.) of the *rūpāvacara-bhūmi*. See *Vibhaṅga*, 570–2. See below: *siddhi soḷasa mahābrahmā* (v. 104a). Cf. *rājā sabbe devatāyo soḷasapaṭalabrahmādayo sāretvā* . . . (*Cāmadevīvaṃsa*), in *BEFEO*, XXV, 1925, 145. On a group of 16 *vajra-devatās*, see *Sanskrit texts from Bali*, XXII.

(73) *aggo*. Peak or top of a mountain ?

(74) *ubhaggo*. Not known in Pali or Sanskrit.

(75) *bhaggo*. *bhagna* ' broken ' ?

(76) *ubhaggo visarājā*. *ubhagga* could be a name of *visarāja*. The latter word is also not known in Pali or Sanskrit. It could mean a cobra (king of poison).

(77) *poriko*. Not known in Pali or Sanskrit. In Marāṭhi *pori* means a young girl.

(78) *mahāratto*. Not known in Pali or Sanskrit.

(79) *paññāsapiḷitā*. Perhaps we should read *paññāsa piṇḍitā* (a group of 50). The next verse refers to *ekapaññāsa*. It may be noted, however, that only about 42 items are given in vv. 70–4. We should perhaps include eight items from vv. 68–9.

(80) *ahaṃ, alaṃ* ?

(81) *sakkāro.* We should perhaps read *sakkato.*

(82) *vannaṃ.* This stands for *vanaṃ* ; cf. *tiṇṇā* for *tiṇa* ' grass ', v. 85.

(83) *siddhi mārabalaṃ yodhaṃ.* Here the *siddhi* must refer to the *yodha* who fights with the army of Māra.

(84) Compare vv. 80–1 with vv. 6–8a. See (3) above.

(85) *Rāmo.* This name is mentioned twice in our text : *jaya Rāmo* (v. 8) and *siddhi Rāmo* (v. 82). This, I believe, is the only Pali text where Rāma is glorified. He is, however, given a less prominent place than is accorded to Hara and Harihara in our text. See introduction above.

(86) *kāraṇadevatā. Kāraṇa* in the sense of an ordeal, a feat or punishment, is known to Pali. But most probably this is an error, and should be read as *kānana.* Cf. *devānaṃ pūjaṃ katvā kānanadevānaṃ rūpañ ca . . . pūjetvā . . .* (*Cāmadevīvaṃsa*), in *BEFEO,* xxv, 1925, 144.

(87) *tiṇṇā.* For *tiṇa* ' grass '.

(88) *vali.* As this word follows *tiṇa* and *rukkha* I am inclined to take it for *vallī* ' creeper '. It may also be a misprint for *bali* ' oblation '.

(89) *pakkhā* ' birds '.

(90) *dibbamantrakaṃ.* This appears to be a reference to the title of our text. The correct Pali form *manta* occurs once (*dibbamantāni,* v. 100) but that could be a scribal improvement. Our text is consistent in retaining the *r.* Cf. *satrū, yantra, sātrakaṃ, caitra.*

(91) *labheyyayuṃ.* Should be *labheyyuṃ.*

(92) *kodanaṃ.* Not known in Pali or Sanskrit. Could it be a local word for *kodaṇḍa* ' cross-bow ' ? The next word also refers to a bow.

(93) *dhanunā snānaṃ.* Literally ' a bath with a bow '. This seems to allude to some kind of magic device employed to destroy an enemy. A similar practice, ' drinking the water with which swords were washed ', is found mentioned in the *Vinayapiṭaka* : *tassā evarūpo dohaḷo hoti : icchati suriyassa uggamanakāle caturaṅginiṃ senaṃ sannaddhaṃ . . . passituṃ khaggānañ ca dhovanaṃ pātuṃ,* I.342. Cf. *Mahāvaṃsa,* xxii.42–5 : *yodhānaṃ aggayodhassa sīsachinnāsidhovanaṃ, tasseva sīse ṭhatvāna pātuṃ ceva akāmayi.* Miss I. B. Horner in *The Book of discipline* (IV, p. 490, n. 4) notes several non-Pali sources for this belief and particularly for its relation to a pregnant woman.

(94) *matikaṃ.* Perhaps stands for *mattikā* ' clay '.

(95) *anusātrakaṃ.* Skt. *anuśāstrakaṃ* ?

(96) *buddhānaṃ catuvīsati.* The *Buddhavaṃsa* enumerates 25 Buddhas. It is possible that here only the Buddhas previous to Gotama are referred to by our text. This number is usually associated with Jainas who enumerate 24 *tīrthaṅkaras.* On the number of Buddhas see (23) above.

(97) *soḷasa mahābrahmā.* See (72) above.

(98) Our text most probably ended with this verse. The next two verses could have been added at a later time from a Ceylonese work called *Jaya-pirit.* See introduction.

(99) *sokā santat 'upaddavā* in *Jaya-pirit.*

(100) *anekā antarāyā pi*, ibid.
(101) *jayasiddhi*, ibid.
(102) *sotthi*, ibid.
(103) *sirī*, ibid.
(104) *buddhi*, ibid.
(105) *āyū*, ibid.
(106) *jīvasiddhi*, ibid.
(107) *samattaṃ*. For *samāptaṃ*.
(108) *nitthītaṃ*. For *niṭṭhitaṃ*.
(109) *sabbasavassati siddhikāraya*. Corresponds to *sarvaṃ svasti siddhikārakaṃ* (or *kāryaṃ*).